

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets³⁹ or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults [684] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her⁴⁰. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:- (The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba)⁴¹, for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)⁴², and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.⁴³

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief
● 559 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,

557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)⁴⁴ wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow⁴⁵.

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.⁹⁰ A man
thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered
to be a "rich widow".⁹¹

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.⁹²

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did
not have an individual official representative who presided at meet-
ings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when
one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or
money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement
with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
● [557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his
way toward personal power⁹³, and the jma'th, which was jealous of his

623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away
from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually
shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, liter-
ally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally
"big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we